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FULL TEXT OF ARTICLE:

1. [Article by Yuriy Aleksandrovich Shvedkov, candidate of
historical sciences and senior scientific associate at Institute of
U.S. and Canadian Studies; passages in boldface as published]

2. [Text] At the beginning of this new decade, the world is clearly
entering the initial period of a new non-confrontational era, but it
will be a complex and contradictory period: The past is trying to
assert its influence, and the future could bring previously
unforeseen dangers. From the standpoint of the possible annihilation
of all life on earth, nuclear arsenals are beginning to appear
senseless, but they are still being improved. Modern communication
systems have almost erased national borders, but violent outbursts of
nationalism are spreading throughout the world. Scientific and
technical progress is crossing new frontiers in production, the
improvement of public health care, and the enhancement of the welfare

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of all mankind, but this has been accompanied by the threat of the catastrophic devastation of the environment, radiation and toxic poisoning, the pandemic spread of AIDS and drug addiction, poverty, and hunger.

3. All of this is naturally affecting many countries of the world to an equal extent and in different spheres, including the major powers--the USSR and the United States. In these countries it has become essential to set future national priorities and determine the place of national security concerns among these priorities, or, to put it more simply, to accomplish the sound and thoroughly considered distribution of the far from unlimited budget funds.

4. We must take a far from abstract interest in the increasingly heated debates over U.S. national priorities, and especially the relative significance of national security issues, which became a kind of idol to which trillions of dollars were sacrificed in earlier decades.

5. The indisputable improvement of the international situation has not produced significant results in this sphere yet. After all, the President requested 309 billion dollars for military needs in fiscal year 1990, or 28 percent of all federal expenditures, and received congressional authorization to spend 305 billion. The administration's request for fiscal year 1991 amounted to 306.2 billion dollars, which will cut expenditures by around 2.5 percent with adjustments for inflation. Furthermore, allocations for the most dangerous programs, like the SDI, are to be increased. Now, however, congressional leaders are suggesting that national security requests will be cut severely from now on, and four out of every five Americans polled have expressed the opinion that the administration should pay more attention to such problems as the declining quality of education, environmental pollution, drug addiction, and the increasing number of poor and homeless Americans.

6. Etymology of the Term ``National Security``

7. The term ``national security`` made its appearance in American political science a relatively short time ago-- in the first postwar years. Before this, the prevailing term in U.S. terminology, just as in the terminology of other states, was ``defense,`` or ``defense capability,`` reflecting the natural desire to defend one's own territory and borders. It was even used during the years of the two world wars, although this was less a matter of the defense of the territory of the United States, which was protected by two vast oceans, than of the defense of friendly countries.¹<reset>

8. The new term came into national use with the passage of the 1947

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National Security Act, providing for the establishment of a National Security Council as a presidential advisory body. It was responsible for the substantiation of decisions on foreign, defense, and economic policy and the defense of national security interests against foreign threats. This attested that the term had transcended the boundaries of military policy, not to mention defense policy. It is indicative that the same act envisaged the creation of the Central Intelligence Agency as part of the NSC with extensive authority to carry out and coordinate all of the subversive intelligence activities of government agencies. These innovations were connected with the globalization of American strategy, which caused the 'cold war' to become a confrontation between opposing socioeconomic systems and military blocs. The assigned purpose of this confrontation was not only military, although this was the main purpose, but also political, economic, ideological, and even subversive. As time went on, the scales of the military confrontation, based on the escalation of the arms race, actually grew instead of contracting and acquired self-generating properties.

9. For this reason, now that the cold war policy has become outdated and the United States is facing many new internal threats as well as external dangers, it is understandable that fierce arguments have broken out in the American political community. The focus of these arguments is the question of whether the term 'national security' has become obsolete after more than 40 years, and whether the time has come to update the term, supplementing it with new priorities regarding the security of Americans. After all, today many of them are dying not on battlefields, but as a result of the spread of crime and drug addiction, as a result of traffic and industrial accidents, and as a result of the AIDS epidemic, and the welfare and well-being of future generations are being attacked by competitors from Japan, Western Europe, and the new industrial nations, which acquired economic strength with the help of the Americans themselves during the cold war.

10. In a joint statement entitled 'American Priorities in the New World Era,' prominent American political scientists R. Barnet, L. Brown, S. Cohen, and others remarked that the subordination of various aspects of U.S. security to the idea of confrontation with the USSR reflected a dangerous warping of Washington strategy in domestic and foreign affairs. 'We have united,' the document says, 'to issue this statement because we are deeply concerned about the future of our country. For decades America spent lavish sums on its military potential, ignoring the economic, social, and ecological problems on which its security and strength as a nation will ultimately depend. As a result of our own actions, we are on the road to ruin, and if we stay on this road, we will soon become a less prosperous and more vulnerable society.'

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11. In accordance with the current interpretation of national priorities, American political scientists are already singling out aspects of security other than military and confrontational ones--economic, social, ecological, and demographic aspects. These include not only direct threats to the health and life of the present generation of Americans, but also threats capable of displaying their destructive force in the future. Obviously, this means that the Washington administration will have to consider the thorough reordering of national priorities both within the country and abroad.

12. Military Aspects of National Security

13. "National defense is the chief enemy of national security." This seemingly paradoxical remark was made by American researcher K. Boulding. He was trying to explain that the arms race was undermining national defense potential instead of strengthening it.

14. In fact, the country which was the first to develop and use nuclear weapons and which then worked tirelessly on the improvement of all types of weapons of mass destruction, does not have absolute security in the military sense today. Furthermore, the use of its arsenals would put America and the rest of the world on the verge of total annihilation.

15. The critics of Bush's national security strategy have pointed out the fact that current budget priorities are essentially the same as they always were and do not take changing realities into account. Researchers who have analyzed the designated purposes of military expenditures have concluded that they are largely inconsistent with common sense.

16. Strategic arms: Large sums are to be spent on the development and deployment of half a dozen new nuclear systems, including the MX and Midgetman missiles, which will duplicate one another and for which funds have already been allocated (around 100 billion dollars in the next 5 years). Most of the advanced systems are designed not to deter attack, but to be used in complex war scenarios involving conventional and nuclear weapons. They are to be used to fight a war, and not to strengthen peace. It is widely acknowledged in the United States that the deterrence of nuclear attack would require only a small fraction of the U.S. nuclear arsenal, no more than a few hundred single nuclear warheads, especially if the other side has the same weapons.

17. Ally commitments: Even according to official admissions, more than half of the United States' current military expenditures are connected with its commitment to the defense of Western Europe.

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Renowned American historian and political scientist G. Kennan has described these expenditures accurately as "indefensible" and "wasteful." He remarked that "the military confrontation in Europe is disproportionate to the threat the two sides face. It is too expensive, burdensome, and dangerous to keep so many weapons and troops in the middle of Germany."<sup>3<reset>

18. American experts have cited the following arguments in support of this conclusion. Western Europe already has military-industrial potential comparable to that of the United States and could defend itself if necessary. Part of the U.S. contribution to NATO is helping West European competitors challenge the position of American businessmen in world markets and even in the U.S. market. Furthermore, under the conditions of substantial reductions in the armed forces of the USSR and other Warsaw Pact states in Western Europe, the sense of the "Soviet threat" is disappearing, and attitudes in favor of closer economic and technological cooperation with the East are growing stronger.

19. Finally, any war in Europe would be suicidal for both sides because of the many nuclear power plants there, but little has been written about this in America. As American author E. Janeway stressed, "The economy of Western Europe has installed its own deterrent in the form of an entire network of commercial nuclear power plants. Any attack on Western Europe will cause a Chernobyl reaction of gigantic proportions, which will be all the more lethal because it will be more difficult for Russia to defend itself against this than against the invasions of Genghis Khan, Napoleon, and Hitler."<sup>4<reset>

20. As for the Asian-Pacific region, which also takes around 60 billion dollars out of the U.S. budget, American experts do not doubt the ability of Japan, and now of South Korea as well, to defend themselves without Washington's help in the event of a local conflict. The buildup of U.S. air and naval forces in East Asia and the Pacific would make sense, they feel, if there were a chance of a new world war and if there were some reason for military operations against the USSR in Europe and the Far East, but this prospect is clearly improbable at this time.

21. Military potential in the Third World: Large sums are also being spent on the maintenance of American military bases and armed forces in the developing countries, but, as American experts have pointed out, the shift in Soviet foreign policy in favor of the peaceful resolution of regional conflicts could turn the USSR into a partner instead of a rival of the United States, and, what is more, into a partner interested in the settlement of local disputes.

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22. Besides this, there is a growing awareness in the United States that the many different threats to U.S. interests in the Third World are primarily non-military in nature and are connected largely with the economic and sociopolitical effects of the debt crisis in the Latin American and African countries. "The standard of living is declining," the previously cited statement of the American researchers says, "and dissatisfaction is growing. This is threatening democracy and stability in such key countries as Brazil, Mexico, Peru, and Argentina. The strict austerity measures connected with the debts are enough in themselves to reduce American exports to the Latin American countries and increase the flow of illegal immigrants to the United States from those countries. In this sense, U.S. economic policy, especially the particularly high interest rates, due partially to the deficit financing of military expenditures, has hurt U.S. interests more than any hypothetical USSR-incited aggression could." ⁵<reset>

23. This means that the American expenditures on the maintenance and support of U.S. armed forces abroad, which absorb a huge portion of the national military budget, have had at least two extremely negative effects on the security of the Americans themselves. First of all, the presence of these forces in different parts of the world increases the danger of unplanned and, possibly, unpremeditated conflict with unpredictable consequences. Second, the maintenance of these forces has been a waste of colossal material and human resources that would be far from superfluous in the safeguarding of other aspects of the American people's security.

24. The economic implications of the arms buildup: The soaring military expenditures, financed by the taxpayers and also by foreign loans to some extent, during the years of the Reagan administration lowered the level of capital investments in production and slowed down the growth of labor productivity. The tax reforms of these years did not lead to the modernization of industry. Insurmountable deficits in the federal budget and in foreign trade and international payments reflected the assault of Japanese and West European competitors on the U.S. economy.

25. Of course, administration spokesmen like to point out the fact that the United States is now experiencing its longest period of economic growth in many years (but, we must say, at slower rates) and that there are many new jobs in the country (but these are almost exclusively in the sphere of non-industrial services). These arguments have been questioned by respected economists and financiers. Here is what S. Schlosstein, who was until recently the vice president of Morgan Guaranty Trust, a well-known investment bank on Wall Street, has to say, for example, in his book "The End of the American Century": Today America is a country "which has watched

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its population's standard of living decline, its industrial influence threatened by foreign competitors, its political system undermined by the nearsightedness (and money) of pressure groups, the indicators of its public education fall to a disastrously level, its children suffering from the emotional trauma of divorce and the absence of one parent, its society disintegrating under the influence of drugs, its national defense weakened by fraud and mismanagement, and its status as the global leader questioned--and all within the lifetime of a single generation.''

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26. Expenditures on military R & D rose from 13 billion dollars in 1960 to 60-100 billion in 1986--i.e., to a sum exceeding total government expenditures on the development of new power engineering technologies, public health care, the enhancement of agricultural productivity, and environmental monitoring. The countries with a lower volume of military R & D, especially Japan and the FRG, were at an advantage. Foreign competitors acquired stronger positions in the American high technology market and even in the country's financial markets and its leading commercial and investment banks.

27. This situation is now regarded as a serious threat to the well-being of the United States. This is attested to, for example, by a NEWSWEEK public opinion poll. When Americans were asked what posed a bigger threat to the United States, the military strength of the USSR or the economic strength of Japan, most of them (52 percent) said it was Japan, and only 33 percent said it was the USSR.

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These feelings are motivating researchers to analyze other, non-military components of national security.

28. Non-Military Priorities

29. President D. Eisenhower once described the reciprocal connection between the military and socioeconomic elements of security quite eloquently. ''Each weapon we produce,'' he said, ''each naval ship we launch, and each missile we build ultimately represent a theft from those who are hungry and have nothing to eat and from those who are cold and have nothing to wear.''

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This statement is still relevant today. It has been acknowledged that the gap between wealth and poverty has never been as great in all of the postwar years as it is today. The burden on military expenditures has begun to threaten the health of the American economy and society.

30. The spokesmen of the Bush administration try to address the new problems of American society, but without cuts in the military budget it will be impossible to find enough money to solve them. This is why most of the arguments in the American Congress today focus on the redistribution of budget allocations.

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31. Economic security, in the opinion of American experts, should meet at least two conditions. The first is the preservation of the country's economic autonomy and its ability to make decisions on economic development in the United States' own interest. The second is the maintenance of the present standard of living and its continued elevation. Many American experts are worried about the prospects for the fulfillment of these conditions.

32. The large budget deficits and the practice of covering them with borrowed funds are constantly increasing the national debt. In 1989 it had already reached 2.8 trillion dollars. In 1989 the interest on this debt cost the government 240 billion dollars, or 12 percent above the 1988 figure. These interest payments have become the second largest budget item, surpassed only by military expenditures. It is obvious that in the event of a recession, this accumulation of debts by the federal government will seriously complicate its financial operations and will place a heavy burden on the standard of living of subsequent generations over the long range.

33. The gap between imports and exports has led to a situation in which the dollars the Americans spend on foreign goods have begun to return to the United States in the form of direct and portfolio investments. At the end of 1988 the latter amounted to 1.79 trillion dollars, as compared to the 1.25 trillion in American investments abroad. Japanese and other foreign businessmen have begun buying real estate in the United States and U.S. banks and industrial corporations. Direct foreign capital investments in the United States rose from 14 billion dollars in 1971 to 329 billion at the end of 1988--i.e., a 23-fold increase. Now they exceed the direct capital investments of American firms abroad, which totaled 327 billion dollars in that time. A particularly irate wave of dissatisfaction was aroused in the United States when Japanese concerns purchased the controlling stock in such prestigious American firms as Rockefeller Center, Columbia System Records, and Columbia Pictures at the end of 1989. One of the editors of the influential magazine FOREIGN POLICY, T. Omerstead, had this to say about the takeovers in his article 'The Sale of America': 'The most common apprehension regarding foreign capital investments is that they will restrict the economic and political autonomy of America. Foreign indebtedness and foreign ownership mean dependence and vulnerability. Ownership goes along with control over economic decisions and influence on political decisions.' ⁹ Obviously, it is too early to speak of the United States' dependence on foreign owners, but events in the American economy, just as in many other spheres, are developing at great speed. The United States already cannot make decisions as freely as it did just a couple of decades ago in at least the fields of international finance and trade.

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34. The social aspect of public security, as the last few decades of U.S. history have demonstrated, consists of the pronounced property inequalities in the richest Western country, which became much more apparent under the Reagan administration, the tense relations with ethnic minorities, which occasionally turn into open conflicts, organized crime, and drug addiction.

35. Recent American statistics indicate that 13.1 percent of the Americans live below the poverty line (in comparison with 11.7 percent in 1979).¹⁰ The Bush administration's intention to allocate 4.2 billion dollars for aid to the poor and homeless was an official acknowledgement of their pitiful status. It is true that the 3-year program will not begin until fiscal year 1991, and even this will depend on the improvement of the state of the budget.

36. The United States has turned into the largest market for illegal drugs, and Washington has won the reputation of the "murder capital." Around 650,000 Americans are already behind bars, and more and more new prisons are being built.

37. Ecological security has become a matter of increasing concern to the American public along with national and international security. According to a report of the National Center for Public Opinion Research, in 1989 Americans named environmental protection as the highest priority in the distribution of budget allocations for the first time, relegating the problems of crime and public health care to a secondary position. In 1989, 75 percent of the respondents said the environment was the biggest problem, whereas only 51 percent of the Americans expressed this opinion in 1980.

38. Of course, it would be difficult to expect the American administration to cover all of the direct and indirect ecological costs connected with the production of nuclear and chemical weapons and other military activity in the next few years, but it will have to allocate large sums for this purpose. At the end of summer 1989, for example, Secretary of Energy J. Watkins published his plan to combat the radioactive pollution of the areas surrounding enterprises producing nuclear warheads. It is a 30-year program, requiring 21 billion dollars just for the first 6 years.¹¹

39. The demographic aspect of the security of Americans clearly has to presuppose satisfactory rates of increase in the healthy, educated, and professionally trained population. American experts are also beginning to feel justifiable concern in this area. An article by Professor G. Foster from the National Security University of the Armed Forces on demographic shifts on the global and national levels and their implications for U.S. security, for example, stresses that population growth in the United States will stay below

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the world average even after the addition of immigration figures. Whereas the population of the United States represented 6 percent of the world population in 1950, in 1988 the indicator had decreased to 5 percent, and by 2010 it could fall to 4 percent. By that time, however, the percentages of Latin Americans and Asians in the total population will rise considerably (from 7 to 11 percent and from 1.6 to 3 percent respectively between 1980 and 2010). Most of these people, just as many black Americans, will have no chance of getting the necessary training for jobs in advanced fields of industry.¹² They can be described as lifetime dependants or permanent welfare recipients. As a result, the education and professional training of the younger generation will be even more acute problems for the federal and local governments than they are today.

40. Therefore, even a brief summary of the non-military aspects of U.S. national security indicates that the government, in spite of its budget difficulties in the next few years, will have to cope with the need for new colossal investments within the country, without which the very survival of American society will be threatened.

41. Many U.S. politicians and even experts on the military economy see the solution in sizable cuts in the military budget. The size of the proposed cuts ranges from 100 billion to 160 billion dollars. Obviously, the process could begin with coordinated unilateral reductions in the military budgets of the USSR and United States, followed by more specific agreements in this field. After all, the military budget of the USSR for 1990 has already been reduced by 8.2 percent.

42. These cuts in the military budgets of the two powers would be all the more significant in view of the fact that the internal problems complicating their development, from the budget deficits and the related shortage of capital investments to the pollution of the environment, on which the health of the population largely depends, are closely interrelated and are common to both powers. Of course, there are significant differences as well. The American society is suffering more from drug addiction and crime, for example, whereas the USSR is experiencing the dramatic exacerbation of ethnic problems and difficulties in the consumer goods market.

43. It is clear that many of the items on the agenda of USSR-U.S. dialogue will determine the future of all mankind. Broader Soviet-American cooperation in averting the new threats endangering not only the United States and USSR, but also the rest of the world, and in solving so-called transnational problems will provide strong momentum for the mobilization of the appropriate UN mechanisms and for international cooperation in general.

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44. Footnotes

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